

THE HACIENDA TRIBUTE SYSTEM

and sweets that could be purchased in La Paz. They could be presented any night when there was a full moon. In order to pay for them, each peasant contributed about eight cents (U.S.) for every cow he owned, for *tutora* was the main source of fodder for the hacienda.

The *camana* of the lake received no usufruct rights for his work. His main recompense came from the wild duck eggs he could find among the reeds. At times these amounted to from 80 to 100 per day, and could either be exchanged with other peasants for their products, or sent to La Paz for sale. As a sanctioning arm of the community, the *camana* of the lake could take a forfeit piece of clothing or equipment from anyone who disregarded his rules. He could not keep them, however; they had to be turned over to the *jilakata* who would then release them upon receipt of a ransom of alcohol.

Those drawn into the tribute system just described were principally the heads of households. Except for the *camana* of the lake, they possessed house plots and farm lands in usufruct. Within nearly every hacienda, however, there were a number of mature males who had no usufruct rights. Some of these, called *utaguaguas*, or "house babies," were descended from outside families who had settled there, often in an attempt to escape an unbearable landlord.¹ These were the ones most likely to be selected for the office of *camana* of the lake. Other householders without direct usufruct rights were young people who had married, but who had not been assigned their own plots of land. The *utaguaguas* had no direct obligations whatsoever to the landlord of the hacienda where they settled. They lived off what products they could obtain from other peasants in exchange for labor. The young married couples, however, usually resided with parents or relatives and assumed part of the latter's hacienda obligations.

A person having full usufruct rights was known as a *persona*, or full man. Upon his death, if his usufruct right were divided between two sons, each came to be known as a *sulta persona*, or half-man, and had only half the obligations of a normal householder to the hacienda. If the usufruct right was further divided, it could give rise to *cuarto personas*, or fourth-men, each having one-fourth of the labor obligations of a full householder.

Every full householder had to take his turn at all the major rotative

1. It is possible that these house babies are descendants of the group referred to in colonial days as *Urus*. Numerous references in the 1567 document formerly cited indicate that the *Urus* were landless and poor and that they lived in lake shore communities at the sufferance of the other Indians. Because of their poverty they were often used by the caciques as house servants and not house attendants (5, pp. 148, 146, 209).